

278 Tibetan medicine, as they did earlier among all Aryan peoples. The gall of an ox is supposed to be good for eye diseases, the spleen for infections, the kidney for kidney ailments; blood, when drunk fresh, "draws the poison out of the blood," the tongue of a dog cures infections, pulverized dragon's teeth (probably crocodile's teeth) alleviate tooth aches. By means of magnets the physician is supposed to draw arrow heads out of the wound.

752 Tibetan doctors are skillful in putting splints to simple bone fractures. In the case of broken ribs they very sensibly tie a wide strip of cloth around the chest and then cover it with loam, which forms a stiff dressing when the loam cools off. The European doctor achieves the same result by means of an adhesive dressing or a plaster cast. Thousands find a cure for their ailments in the spas scattered throughout Tibet, as for instance, in Sabu (Ladakh), in Panamig (Nubra), and in many other places. Massaging is practised by the Indians as well as by the Tibetans with considerable skill. Matters are terrible as far as the pulling of teeth is concerned. Since they do not have regular dentist's forceps, the person plagued by a toothache goes to the smith, because he is usually the only one who has a pair of pliers. Two men hold the patient who lies on his back on the ground. The smith kneels over him and with his blunt pliers he grips the diseased tooth and pulls at it. Something finally gives way: Sometimes the diseased tooth comes out, sometimes the jaw breaks, and it also happens that the pliers break and the tooth remains in the jaw.

743 757 000 We may wonder about, and laugh at, some of the curious remedies of Tibetan medicine. But we must remember that into the 18th, yes, even as recently as the 19th century, no less peculiar remedies were produced, praised, and eagerly bought in European pharmacies, including those in Germany, than we encounter in Tibetan pharmacy. Things like stork's fat, bear's fat, wolf's and fox's fat, worms, crabs' eyes and snake skin were since time immemorial considered highly effective cures. Quite especially coveted were remedies which were produced from parts of the human body, such as burned and pulverized human skull, blood, gall, and fat of human beings, and they were considered particularly effective if the

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This hold of the lamas on the people does not result from the organized activities of the church. There are few schools for children run by the monasteries. The monasteries have instruction in philosophy, astronomy, literature, and religion. But that instruction is for the lamas, not the laymen. Children are not taken under the wing and indoctrinated. The monasteries do not exert a power over the people through hospitals, medical care, homes for the aged, and the like. They render no community service, except as they send lamas to a home to pray by the bedside of a sick person, to conduct a funeral service, or to perform a marriage ceremony. 792 [871]

They hold their people by fears and superstitions and poverty. Their paraphernalia are numerous. The *mani* walls, the *chhortens*, and the *obos* are perpetual reminders to every sojourner in this region of his religious duties, of the spirits that haunt the trails, of the dangers which transgressions bring. There is the Tibetan proverb that "without a lama in front there is no approach to God." The lama is the person who has command over the spirit world, who can drive away the evil forces, who can interest the good deities in the welfare of the people. The lama has contacts with the other world. He has the wisdom and the power of the land. He can conjure up even Yama, the King of Hell, and all his demons. He can produce Yama in the flesh for all to see. [143]

The whole weight of tradition is behind Lamaism and its power. The native Ladakhi, like the Tibetan, is illiterate. He can neither read nor write. He has no radio to listen to the news of the world. There are in all of Ladakh not over three radios. 212 [207]

The native, filled with fears and superstitions, gets his learning in part from paintings. The word "painter" means literally the "writer of gods." Ladakhi and Tibetan painting is the equivalent of a language where one can see in anthropomorphic form the virtues such as Mercy and Chastity and the vices such as Lust, Anger, and Greed. The colors, postures, and gestures of the figures all express ideas. The peasant, who lives in a world dimly 871 532 869

shrine of the local deity (*yiil-lha*, (*Yul-lha*)), where she offers up some *chang*. His father and three of his relatives have, in the meantime, carried a large pile of *tsampa* up to the same place, and they, too, present it to the god as an offering. A lama will then draw the figure of a stag in the dust in front of the shrine, and will shoot at it with an arrow from a bow he has brought. This is supposed to kill all evil which might attack the child. 852 [782] [789]

Next, when a boy is between four and five, his hair is ritually cut in a ceremony which goes by the name of *Raldag* (probably *Ral-ltag*, "long hair-neck hair"). After three days of feasting in which the whole family, their relatives and their friends take part, the child's maternal uncle (*azhang* (*a-zhang*)) shears all his nephew's hair off and takes the locks to each person present in turn. In exchange for looking at the hair, they each give a small piece of money to the parents as a lucky offering. 307 852 [604] [431] [777]

The first doctor whom I saw was called Sönam Tashi (*bSod-Nams-bKra-shis*) and he was a lama from a village called Bardgi. He informed me that there were quite a lot of nervous ailments in Lahul, the principal ones being epilepsy and hysteria. The first of these two appeared when the person was about fifteen years old, and he attributed the cause to alcohol. He thought, too, that it might have some connection with the high incidence of venereal diseases to be found in the valley, infections which he said had been introduced from Kulu. Hysteria often brought with it symptoms of frigidity in women and of impotence in men, and he had a number of patients suffering in this way. As a cure for epilepsy, he advocated beating with hot juniper branches. Hysteria was better cured, he thought, by administering pills made of paper upon which prayers had been written. 158 [115] [759] [753] [164] [833] 755

There was a Government Hospital at Kyelang, and on the 28th June 1938 I went there to interview its director, Dr. Bhagwan Singh. I asked him about Tibetan medicine, and who the local doctors were in Lahul. He told me that there were quite a number of them and that they went by the name of *amchi* (*Am-ch'hi* or *Aem-ch'hi*). The best among them was Katug (*Ka-bTug*) of Chelling, but there were also Tsering Norbu (*Ts'he-ring Nor-bu*) of Billing, Dön-drup (*Don-Grub*) of Kardang, and the old uncle of the Wazir, Thakur Mangal Chand, *amchi* of Kyelang, whose Tibetan name was Tashi Dawa (*bKra-shis Zla-ba*). According to Dr. Bhagwan Singh, ayurvedic medicine (although I think this was only his way of naming Tibetan medicine as distinct from the Western system) was practised, but extra to this, considerable use was made of Tibetan medicinal herbs. 759 [743] [115] 759

so, especially when, in Kyelang, I had discovered significant psychological disorders in members of polyandrous households. In Ladak, the information that I gathered was not quite as sensational, but it confirmed to a large extent what I already knew now about the psychopathology of the people of these regions. 114 158

My first such visit was to the Kashmir State hospital in Leh on the 30th August, 1938. There I met the chief physician in charge, a Dogra medical officer called Dr. M. S. Diwani. He told me that venereal diseases were, as usual, the dominant illnesses which he had to treat. He attributed their wide distribution in Ladak to contacts with Moslem traders from Sinkiang, who passed them on through the intermediary of the temporary wives which they took from the local, Buddhist population. Extra to digestive troubles due to a diet of excessive tea and *chang* drinking, there were many cases of epilepsy and hysteria. The former sickness seemed mostly to plague Moslem women, while the latter was the prerogative of single Buddhist women and nuns in the nunnery. They got attacks usually during their menstrual periods, and nearly always at night. The cure for these afflictions was in the hands of the *amchis*, who cauterized the head of the patient in prescribed places. 164 [115] [743] 158 164

There was much osteomyelitis about, Dr. Diwani said, and it was due to the *purdah* habits of Moslem women, because they did not get sufficient sun. The Buddhist women who worked on the fields never suffered from this illness. He knew of no cases of impotence or frigidity, as no one had been to see him for such ailments. There was madness in the area, the most significant case being that of the *Tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation of Tiksé Gompa (see *The Mad Tulku of Tiksé* by the same author, Stepping Stones, Kalimpong, 1950). To my question as to whether he knew of homosexuality in Ladak, Dr. Diwani said that it was widespread in the monasteries, where the relations between master and novice were universally known to take on that character. [555] 164 [833] [158]

On the 1st September 1938, when I visited the *Gad-po-pa* (*rGad-po-pa*) household, and made its genealogy (see p. 368), I took advantage of my talk with the informant Chond who, it will be recalled, was an *amchi* or native doctor, to enquire from him about his practice. 838 792 [115] He told me that he had many cases of giddiness to deal with, and he attributed this to bad diet in the case of the men, and to irregularities in the menses of women. There were no cases of impotence or frigidity, as far as he knew, but many of anxiety and hysteria, which he had to treat nearly always, in women. They were mainly to be found among single women and nuns, and often took the form of nervous blindness [833] 158 [553]

[158] and deafness for certain periods of time. He attributed this to devils
[753] which possessed the individual concerned, and he, personally, tried to
[755] cure them by cauterization of the head. If this did not help, the patients
were advised to visit the lamas, who gave the religious formulas to eat,
or carried out exorcisms over them. Chonde showed me his cauteriza-
tion instruments and a chart which guided him as to where to apply
the red-hot irons.

[115] The Reverend Walter Asboe, whose Moravian Mission ran a small
[1043] dispensary and hospital in the Mission House in Leh, was also infor-
[164] mative about nervous ailments in the town. He said that men did come
[833] to be cured of impotence, but that they were nearly all physical cases
and definitely not mental ones. As it was, it was not living in polyan-
dry which made them impotent, for if the common wife was not to their
liking, they could always seek relief with some of the numerous prosti-
tutes that were to be found in Leh. All of these professionals, he said,
[548] were Moslems, not Buddhists, and were usually recruited from among
[595] the temporary wives, converted to Mohammedanism by the Yarkandi
[795] traders, surplus women left over by the polyandry of the Buddhist
Ladakies.

[158] The Reverend Asboe had come across no cases of frigidity in women,
[795] but, on the contrary, he knew of many cases of nymphomania. Again,
[833] this affliction was to be found among the Moslem women converts,
never among the polyandrous wives of the Buddhist households. He
[838] had also heard that homosexuality was prevalent in the monasteries,
[792] and since, he said, Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* contained all
the numerous Tibetan terms for various sexual perversions, it seemed
from this that these were widespread throughout Ladak.

[115] Nono Tse-P'hün, as my principal interpreter and informant, was of
an opposite opinion. He said that homosexuality was a punishable of-
fence in Kashmiri law, and therefore did not exist in Ladak. It was
looked upon with great disfavour anyhow, by the Ladakis, and he felt
sure that no one indulged in it, not even in the monasteries. In Tibet,
it was another matter, he added, and it was known that it was practised
in the large monasteries of Central Tibet, as any monk returning from
Lhasa or Shigatse where he had gone for his studies could tell.

[296] With regard to prostitution, this is the place perhaps, to mention
[171] what Joseph Gergan once told me about the smoking of tobacco. I had
asked him on the 14th October 1938, in Kargil, as we were travelling
together towards the Kashmir capital, Srinagar, how it was that in the
whole of Tibet and in areas under the cultural influence of that country,